

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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Whole No. 90.

MAHON IS OUT FOR DEBS

SPEAKS FROM SAME PLATFORM WITH OUR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AT BELLEVILLE, ILL.

When the Central Labor union of Belleville, Ill., engaged Eugene V. Debs for a lecture in that city on March 13 they did not know they were going to have the pleasure of listening to a presidential candidate. The occasion turned out to be a very excellent beginning of the campaign. The opera house was literally packed with people. Over 2,000 were present. A delegation of Social Democrats from St. Louis went over on the electric line and arrived just in time to join in the street parade. The delegation carried the Social Democratic banner and a large sign bearing a picture of Debs, with the words "For President" beneath. Both of these banners were placed on the stage after the parade was over.

In spite of the suffocating atmosphere the audience listened to the orator's words with great attention. There was none of the reckless hurrah-for-my-side applause which always characterizes the meetings of old-party candidates. The audience applauded freely and enthusiastically, but intelligently. That the great mass of workmen present were thinking—thinking as they had never thought before—could readily be discerned by watching the expression of their eager faces. The number of young men present was surprising, and it is safe to assume that most of them went home with the truths of Socialism firmly impressed on their minds. For two hours the speaker held the attention of

the people and preached the doctrines of the cause he loves so well.

Then occurred an incident which is well worth noting as being indicative of the camp in which the trades unions of America will be found before the coming campaign is closed. After Comrade Debs had concluded his address the chairman called upon W. D. Mahon, national president of the Amalgamated Association of Street-Railway Employees of America, who happened to be present, to address the meeting. Mr. Mahon, in a short, forcible speech, declared that he endorsed every utterance of the previous speaker. He thought that the trades unions were paving the way for a higher step, and that they would be found supporting a working-class party in the near future. He urged the workmen to think for themselves, and wound up by saying: "If you do you will vote for Eugene V. Debs." At these words there arose from the audience one long, unanimous cheer that seemed to come from the very souls of the weary toilers who were crowded into the house. It seemed, indeed, as though some magic hand had for a moment pushed ajar the gates of the co-operative commonwealth and allowed the assembled proletarians to catch a glimpse of the future in store for them.

When election day rolls around and the votes have been counted, the city of Belleville will have done her duty to the wage-working class and have paid her compliments to our candidate with a handsome vote.

Eugene V. Brewster of New York has decided to quit Bryan, become a Social Democrat and support Debs and Harriman. In an interview last Saturday he said:

"I can see no hope of ever obtaining any permanent reform through the democratic party, however radical be its platform. Both of the old parties are fast rotting away with corruption, and, even after 1896, I see the vast and beautiful organization of the democratic party controlled at almost every point by a human hyena grimly waiting for plunder. There must be a new party, and I am not sure that that party is not the one just formed by the two Socialist factions and headed by Eugene V. Debs."

Brewster says, further, that Bryan's defeat is certain, and will be accomplished by his own party.

During our convention last week Dr. Lyman Abbott lectured in Brooklyn on "Industrial Democracy" to an audience of workmen. From the newspaper reports of his remarks we take the following:

"I assume that the common people ought to control in industry as in politics. That we don't do that now is apparent. We elect governors, but not railroad kings; we elect municipal assemblies, but not those who control factories and mines. I have nothing to say against those who do control, but I am merely pointing out the fact that we can turn out presidents and governors, but if we think a railroad owner is not working for the public good we can't turn him out peaceably. Our political system is a democracy, but our industrial system is an oligarchy. We ought to carry the same principles into industry as into politics."

"This, then, is the radical object which we reformers ought to keep in mind—Social Democracy. That means that the railroads should be controlled and owned by the common people, that the factories and mines should be theirs, that they should own the tools with which they work. It means the diffusion of wealth. It means the employment of capital by labor, instead of labor by capital. It is a radical idea, but we need radical ideas. It is not a hopeless idea, either."

SKETCHES OF CANDIDATES

HOOSIERDOM FURNISHES BOTH STANDARD BEARERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Eugene Victor Debs was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in the autumn of 1855, and at the age of 15 years began his work as a railway employee in the Vandalia car shops. Soon afterward he obtained a position as fireman on a freight engine, in which capacity he served some years, and soon attracted attention in the councils of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, of which he had become a member. He was 22 years old when that organization made him editor of its magazine, and from that day forward he has been unable to escape for a moment the exacting cares of leadership. Quickly following this entrance to official life he was made general secretary and treasurer of the organization, and saw it grow rapidly from infancy to national proportions. In this position he was custodian of literally millions of dollars of organization funds.

In 1892 Mr. Debs founded the American Railway union, which was the first organization in the railway world to admit to membership every employee, from the section man and engine-wiper to the conductor and engineer. Its central idea was complete and universal organization. Under his guiding hand it speedily reached colossal proportions. Its first great strike was called on the Great Northern railway. The road was successfully tied up from St. Paul to the Pacific ocean and the company forced to restore the wages of all employees, amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of dollars a month.

Scarcely was the Great Northern railway case out of the way than the Pullman strike claimed attention. Thoroughly alarmed at the invincible strength of the new union built on the "universal brotherhood" plan, the General Managers' association resolved to force a general fight with the hope of crushing it in its infancy. The organization was less than one year old when the general managers began the assault. Employees were discharged simply for holding membership in the American Railway union. The Pullman trouble was brewing at the same time, and Pullman's employees, who were members of the organization, had their wages cut fully 50 per cent. The public was led to believe that Mr. Debs could have avoided the Pullman strike, and that he deliberately plunged into it. This, of course, was not true. He clearly understood the scope of the conspiracy against the life of the organization and knew the struggle could not be avoided. The Pullman matter was the most flagrant wrong at hand, and he took it up first, offered to submit the question to arbitration, and meeting with an emphatic refusal, ordered the members of the union to handle no Pullman cars. The battle was on, and within two days scarcely a car of any description was moving between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast. Within a short time the commerce of the nation was practically paralyzed.

So long as the general managers fought fairly and proceeded as in all other strikes they were completely out-generated. Finally realizing this they

appealed to the courts and found one willing to ignore the rights of man as guaranteed by the constitution of the nation and issued an edict suspending the freedom of speech. Mr. Debs was forbidden to send messages, letters or telegrams from headquarters to the members. This meant just what it would mean if a general on the battlefield was deprived of the right to speak or write. Of course he refused to submit, and within a few days Mr. Debs and his lieutenants were behind the prison bars. Released later, when the strike was dead, there followed a long and hard-fought legal battle to test the new principles sought to be established, but the United States Supreme court dodged the real question at issue.

In 1892, when Mr. Debs resigned his positions in the Firemen's Brotherhood, he was receiving \$4,000 per year. The convention of over 400 delegates by unanimous vote refused to accept his resignation, and offered him any salary he might name. When it was found he could not be induced to change his mind, the convention by acclamation voted him a gift of \$2,000, with which to go to Europe and recuperate his somewhat broken health. This he declined. On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, which organization was perfected on June 21, 1897, with Mr. Debs as chairman of the national executive board, to which he devoted his means, energy and splendid talents. After the split at Chicago in 1898, Mr. Debs was made a member of the national executive board of the Social Democratic party, a position he still fills.

Job Harriman was born on January 15, 1861, in Clinton county, Indiana. His people were farmers, and he remained on the farm until he was 18 years of age. He then went to Butler university, at Irvington, where he graduated. He went into the ministry, but his views soon became changed, so that he could not conscientiously continue in the church. He then took up the practice of law.

He was brought up as a democrat, but became dissatisfied and did not vote at all after 1887 until 1890, when he became interested in Socialism. At this time he was living in San Francisco. For the next five years he was more or less active in the Socialist movement there.

In 1895 he removed to Los Angeles and immediately entered the work there, where he has been an active agitator ever since. In 1898 he was the S. L. P. candidate for governor and made an energetic campaign, polling 5,600 votes.

In the beginning of 1899 he was chosen as state organizer, and put in the whole year in propaganda work throughout the state.

DEBS' SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

Mr. Chairman and Comrades: A few moments ago your committee advised me of the great honor conferred upon me by this convention in making me one of the standard-bearers of the party in the great campaign upon which we are now entering. Never in all of my life was I so profoundly impressed with the conviction that there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will. Yesterday I left this hall under the solemn belief that I could not, under any possible circumstances, accept the nomination tendered me with such enthusiastic unanimity. But with your united voices ringing in my ear, and your impassioned appeals burning and glowing in my breast, and your eyes searching the very depths of my soul, I was soon brought to realize that in your voice in behalf of Socialism there was the supreme command of Duty—that I could not disregard it and decline the nomination without proving myself wholly unworthy of the confidence which inspired it. I felt that I could not decline this nomination, tendered me under such circumstances, without being guilty of treason to the cause we all love so well; and so I come to you this afternoon, obedient to the call voiced by your committee, to say that I accept your nomination, and with it all of the responsibilities that the great trust imposes; and with my heart trembling upon my lips, I thank the comrades, one and all, for the great honor you have conferred upon me. I also thank you for having nominated as my associate and colleague so true a Socialist, so manly a man as Comrade Job Harriman, and let me assure you that we will stand together, side by side, in the true spirit of Socialism, and joining hands, will bear aloft the conquering banner of the Social

Democratic party of America. The ordeal through which we passed yesterday was indeed painful and trying to us, but perhaps it was necessary to completely consecrate us to our great task. Standing in your presence this afternoon the standard-bearer of a united socialist party, so long a cherished hope and now practically a realized fact, all the skies of the future are bright, and I do not hesitate to believe that in the great campaign upon which we are now entering that we are to achieve results that will mark the real beginning of Socialism in America, as also the real end of capitalism. The line is to be sharply drawn. The issue is to be clearly understood. We are to move forward side by side, a united party, a solid indivisible phalanx. We are to move forward with steady step, our eyes upon the goal. No backward step is to be taken. We are not to be deflected from our course the breadth of a hair; and in the first battle, whatever the outcome, a great victory will have to be achieved to be followed by others, until at last Socialism is triumphant in the United States, capitalism falls never to rise again, and the working class, bruised, degraded, and plundered through all of the centuries of the past, for the first time in the history of all the ages will stand forth redeemed, and disenthralled, the coronated sovereigns of this world.

I congratulate my comrades, one and all, upon the very happy outcome of this historic convention. I were less than just to myself if I failed to make some proper acknowledgment of the invaluable services rendered us by the committee representing the Socialist Labor Party. During the trying hours of yesterday I was more than impressed with their noble bearing, with their manly

conduct. They appeared before us in the spirit of Socialism. Fortunately for you and me, and for the party, they were met with the same spirit; and now, instead of being in hostile camps, with divided forces, we stand before the world in a united body that is to move forward until it wrests this government from the grasp of capitalism and restores it to the people at large. Comrades, we invoke your united aid and co-operation. We should be remiss in no single obligation that has been imposed upon us. We shall to the extent of our ability serve you and those you represent in this great cause. There is no mistake as to the ultimate outcome. Speaking for myself, I am not only hopeful, I am confident. The new crusade is now thoroughly organized, and when the message goes forth it will send joy and hope and enthusiasm to the heart of every Socialist in the land.

Allow me to say, in closing, that I am deeply sensible of the great honor that you have conferred upon me—that when I attempt to express the gratitude with which my heart is overflowing, all language is meaningless. I am proud to be a Socialist. I believe with all my heart in the conquering and emancipating power of Socialism. With me it is something more than a conviction. It throbs in my heart; it surges in my soul; it is my very life. Without it, every star that blazes on the horizon would go out forever. Without it, this earth were simply a jungle, and we wild beasts devouring each other. With it, this earth becomes transformed into a veritable paradise, and we are almost gods. Again and again I thank you. All hail to the united Socialists of America!

told in a new chapter of the history of the American labor movement, and written with golden letters."

The Danville (Ill.) Democrat gives a lengthy report of the convention, with biographical sketches of both candidates.

Farmers' Review (Bonham, Texas) for March 9 contains a three-column editorial headed "Socialists Are Practical." Also mention of our candidates.

The Haverhill Social Democrat of March 10 gives a newsy account of the opening days of the convention.

dications are that Eugene V. Debs will be nominated for president on a combination ticket—Social Democratic and Socialist Labor. These two bodies should be united on general principles."

The Toiler of Terre Haute gives a full account of the convention in signed correspondence by the editor, Ed H. Evinger.

The Brauer-Zeitung of Cincinnati, Ohio, prefaces an account of the convention with the following paragraph: "The convention of the Social Democratic party of America, held in Indianapolis last week, is a thing of the past. The records of its work will be

The St. Louis Republic of March 14, in reprinting part of Sheldon's edition of the Topeka Capital, selected half a column of Comrade Leonard D. Abbott's article on Socialism and the S. D. P. This article was reprinted by the Rev. Mr. Sheldon from the New York Outlook. We say, with Benjamin Franklin, "Thus, let good offices go abroad." Abbott's article has been in type for The Herald for three weeks; it appears in this number.

From the Iowa Unionist of Des Moines we clip the following: "The Social Democratic national convention in session in Indianapolis. The in-

PRESS NOTES AND COMMENTS

Memphis Commercial-Appeal: "Eugene V. Debs will lead the presidential ticket of the Social Democrats this year, and Eugene will wake the echoes. He is a plausible talker and one who is very effective with the masses."

Very true; and the united testimony of the southern press is that there is not one more popular with the masses.

Buffalo Express: "There is an element of the populists that can never be counted upon to return to the democratic fold. The most radical members of the populist organization have been tending to straightforward Socialism. They will be attracted by the programme of the Social Democrats. The latter will draw to them a not inconsiderable body of voters throughout the country."

The drawing quality of the Social Democratic party has already manifested itself in Kansas, where populism has shown its greatest vitality. One of the surprises of the campaign will be the straight Socialist vote in Kansas.

New York Tribune: "So far as the United States is concerned, we should be glad to see war abolished. But we

should also like to hear Mr. Debs and his fellow Social Democrats explain how it is to be done. 'You may rezoloot till the cows come home,' but how are you going to keep other nations from making war upon you?"

Social Democrats, as the editor of the Tribune may learn if he will take the trouble to inform himself, are really quite practical people. They understand that militarism and war are necessary to capitalist exploitation. Nations are forced to make war upon each other by and in the interest of the capitalist class. Therefore Social Democrats throughout the world stand for the abolition of capitalist production and distribution of wealth, and thereby the abolition of war and military establishments.

Baltimore American: "The Social Democrats, in session at Indianapolis, salute one another as 'Comrades.' Comrades in what—pessimistic rumination?"

Oh, no; put your ear to the ground, man! We are comrades in the most optimistic movement of the century. It is a movement with optimism as its mainspring. For that reason look out for it.

Social Democratic Herald

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAR. 24, 1900.

FIGHT FOR A PRINCIPLE

From the beginning of the glorious campaign to be made by the united Socialists this year, let it be understood that we are in the political arena for a principle. We are neither Debsites nor Harrimanites, but Social Democrats, affirming and firmly believing in the ultimate supremacy of the collectivist principle in industry and the industrial democracy wherein the robbery of the working class ceases and justice and comradeship is established in the earth.

The men chosen as our standard bearers were chosen not because they are cunning and ambitious men, desiring public office as a stepping-stone to self-aggrandizement, but rather because both have stood unflinchingly for the great cause of the working class and the principle which unites us as a party in a class struggle against the united and legally-intrenched capitalist class, for the overthrow of industrial exploitation and the establishment of economic freedom.

The hired guerrillas of the capitalist press may be expected this year to resort to every trick known to low calumny to serve their masters, but their attacks will in no way affect the reputation and character of the men who, in this new century conflict, stand for the emancipation of the working class from the shackles of capitalism. The people of this country have been learning that the representations made of Socialists and Socialism by the capitalist press are false creations proceeding from capitalist-owned brains. Their flippant jibes and prodigious lies will have no effect on the thorough-going, earnest Social Democrat, and the thinking public generally ceased long ago to regard with seriousness any utterance of the average daily newspaper designed to prop up or defend the prevailing system of industry. The Socialist movement in this country has outgrown the power of any capitalist editor or editors to hinder or molest it. The people are fast coming to see in it, not a fad, but a fact; not a thing to be avoided, but a historic cause to be aided and fostered.

Towards Socialism the thoughts of men are changing as never before and those who are informed find amusement in the first lie started by the pressmen of capitalism, viz., "that Debs has organized a party of his own and got himself nominated for president." The vulgarity of the thing is worthy of its vulgar origin. There is no truth in it. The Social Democratic party was organized when Debs was a sick man, confined to his room, unable to organize a party and with no ambition save to serve as a member of the party and an advocate of its principles when his strength returned. This ambition he has indulged with such telling effect in the past eighteen months, lecturing to larger audiences than any man living and winning the heads and the hearts of the people for Socialism, that his name at the head of a Socialist ticket for president means the beginning of a political revolution to match the industrial revolution, and this it is that the capitalist class fears.

Hurray for Social Democracy and its chosen standard bearers, Debs and Harriman!

WORKING CLASS OPPORTUNITY

Fellow workmen: For the first time in our history we have the opportunity of voting for one of our own great leaders for president. We are going to walk up like men and do our duty next November, are we not? "Oh, well, there are arguments on the other side, you know!"

First. We are so used to voting for lawyers. We think only these paid retainers of the capitalist class are trained to guide the ship of state. If any one save a lawyer were at the helm she might ground on the rocks. Yes, the lawyers are trained—to skin us!

Second. The clergy and the other authorities (?) on morals are going to tell us that a vote for Socialism is a vote for confiscation. In the same way they defended slavery, claiming that to destroy property in human flesh and blood was confiscation.

Third. The newspapers are going to poke fun at us. They are going to make cartoons of our leader and malign his character. And we still support the

capitalist press while that of our own class goes starving. We have not learned that the first step toward wisdom is to cast aside as authority the wretched, partisan daily sheets of our time.

Fourth. We have some prosperity now, and it would be such a pity to spoil it. We have jobs, it may be. We get back only one-fifth of what we produce, but we have jobs. Of course, it takes a high-power microscope to detect the difference between modern prosperity and a modern panic, but such authoritative microscopists as Mr. Dun and Mr. Bradstreet pronounce the present article prosperity. Anything so harsh as a vote for a labor leader might frighten it away. Prosperity is very shy!

Fifth. We might throw our vote away. We ought to vote for what we don't want and get it, rather than to vote for what we want and fail a time or two. We have been voting for what we don't want and getting it right along for many years, and it is hard to break off an old habit, surely!

Sixth. We have a chance of electing a man who is more friendly to our cause than the other fellow. We have not yet learned that the greatest enemies to our cause are good men who go against us; that the bad fellows can do no harm; that we want them on the other side. We have not yet found out that a good man on the wrong side is most to be feared.

Fellow toilers, in spite of all reasons, we have the opportunity of a lifetime. In these months preceding the one day when we are "voting sovereigns," we ought to be making votes for Debs and Harriman.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Herald wishes to say to the trades unionists of the United States thus early in the campaign of 1900 that trades unionism in this country is now practically committed to the essential principle for which the Social Democratic party stands; that is, that all the means of production and distribution now owned and exploited by the capitalist class shall become the common property of society at large.

A vote for McKinley will be a vote for the capitalist class; no trades unionist can cast such a vote and be true to the doctrine of trades unionism.

A vote for Bryan (or any other man representing the confused and planless democracy) will be a vote for capitalism—for the middle-class—for an impossible reactionism; no trades unionist can give such a vote and be true to the interests of his own class.

A vote for Debs and Harriman will be a vote for representatives of the working class; every trades unionist in the land can vote the Social Democratic ticket and be true to his class, to the principles of his union and to himself.

Of course the irrepressible humorist of the party, Charlie Martin, had to get in his joke at the convention, and he did it in the following credential, which was posted in the hall:

"O Mr. Debs and all the rest of you: This is to certify that the bearer of this document is known as Jonas Harrison, and that the members of Puckerbrush alliance, located in the state and among the ideas of Mark, which we are trying to change to the ideas of Marx, have duly selected him to represent us as a fraternal delegate in the national convention of the Social Democratic party, called to meet in the capital of Hoosierdom on March 6, 1900, with instructions to root for a union of Socialist forces outside the tribe of Dan.

"Witness our hands and the seal of Puckerbrush alliance on last Saturday.

"John Strong, President.

"Jessie Bright, Secretary."

There has been much said and written in Chicago about short-measure coal. The small dealers, it appears, have sold for a bushel of coal baskets containing less than a bushel, and have done it at prices equal in some cases to \$12 and \$15 a ton. The people who paid these high prices were, of course, the poor. We have seen nowhere any reference to the fact that the winter has been one of unusual severity for the small dealers, whose sales have been uncommonly small and made as to the ton trade on a close margin. Neither have the mining barons, whose profits are enormous, been taken into account. That the small dealers are forced to give short weight and charge long prices only shows how increasingly difficult it is for the "honest middle trading class" to exist.

Public Ownership (Erie, Pa.) devotes nearly its entire first page to a report of "Debs for President," gives a review of the growth of Socialism and prints the executive board report complete. Editorially it says: "Job Harriman polled 5,000 votes for governor of California on the Socialist ticket in 1898. With Eugene V. Debs he would shake the state."

The die has been cast for 1900. We are to have a straight and uncompromising battle for Socialism. Let it be made of such power and effect that it may always be a source of inspiration for all future campaigns. Trades union workmen, this is the year of opportunity

for you to rebuke your enemies and give your friends a splendid support.

The Arbeiter-Zeitung of St. Louis gives nearly eight columns and an editorial to a report of the Indianapolis convention. The familiar features of our candidates, Debs and Harriman, appear on the first page. A very good report for our German friends and comrades to read.

The comrades of Indianapolis, who made arrangements for the convention under the leadership of Hugo Miller, took upon themselves all expenses incident thereto. Their devotion and generosity will be remembered by us all.

Reasons of a personal nature compelled Comrade Farmer of Texas to resign from the committee of nine. He is succeeded by Comrade Lonerghn of Connecticut, who received the next highest number of votes.

In issue of March 10 the Sheyboygan Volksblatt gives account of the convention.

The People, New York, March 11, gives a report of the first day's proceedings.

The Arbejderen of Chicago reports the convention in its issue of March 8.

WHAT THE "CITIZEN" SAYS

In the Cleveland Citizen for March 17, Editor Max Hayes has the following references to the movement and the candidates:

"The Social Democratic party will urge that its name be accepted by the united movement rather than that a new name be selected, and thus increase the confusion. It is pointed out that no stigma is attached to the title, that it is international in scope, and that it expresses perfectly what the labor movement stands for. The writer believes that the arguments are good ones, and that, if legal difficulties do not stand in the way, the easiest and most satisfactory manner to settle that question is to adopt the name Social Democratic party.

"Eugene V. Debs needs no introduction to our readers. They all know him and love him, not because he is Debs, but the sterling manhood, the splendid ability and his confessions of faith in the noble cause of labor have been put to the test, and he has not been found wanting. From boyhood almost he has been identified with organized labor, and he rose in triumph and went down in defeat with his class, ever holding aloft the flag of the workers struggling for economic freedom. Persecuted by all the powers of capitalism, made the target of the poisoned arrows of envy and malice from ambushed guerrillas, Debs has nevertheless stood firm for the great principles of industrial liberty and social progress.

"Job Harriman is in every way fitted to be Debs' running mate. The dashing Californian, though still a young man, is one of the pioneer Socialists of the Pacific Coast. He leaped into fame when he unhorsed Congressman McGuire in a debate upon single tax and Socialism several years ago, and since then he has labored unceasingly for the upbuilding of the Socialist movement. Mr. Harriman is a Marxian student, a keen logician, and an eloquent orator, and withal warm-hearted and modest to a fault."

A Chicago Drama

A Christian woman in a Christian town of nearly two million inhabitants died last Thursday night of starvation and a lack of medical treatment. Her home was a hovel in an alley. For some years she had been a widow, and had supported herself and child, but when she fell ill this was impossible.

Not one person in all of that two million went to her relief until it was too late. A big-hearted policeman brought her food at the moment her soul was leaving her body, and when there was no longer need of it.

The scene that met his gaze as he entered the room was one that should be depicted to and impressed upon the mind of every man and woman in this town calling himself or herself a Christian.

A 7-year-old boy was kneeling by the bedside, and this is what he was saying: "Oh, please, God, don't let my mamma die. Please get her something to eat so she can live with me."

This happened in Chicago, where millionaires are counted by scores, where the Associated Charities have splendid offices in a magnificent building; where there are relief corps innumerable.

It happened in the fourth year of the reign of William McKinley, when coffers are filled with gold and when the fat land is bursting with prosperity.

How many other like cases are there in Chicago?

Who is responsible for a condition of society where a worthy Christian woman can starve to death in the midst of plenty?

Who is going to remedy it, and how?—Chicago Journal.

DEBS' LECTURE TOUR

Nebb City, Mo. March 24
Joplin, Mo. afternoon March 25
Galena, Kan. evening March 25

The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 25 cents per hundred copies.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Expensive expansion.

Dr. Jabez Fisher, in an excellent paper on "Dividends versus Brotherhood," read before a Fitchburg audience on March 4, gives a striking illustration of the accumulative power of the dollar.

He figures that if Joseph had invested one dollar, at 6 per cent compound interest, for the benefit of his son Jesus and His future cause, it would have amounted today to a value equal to that of a solid cube of gold measuring 4,600,000,000 miles on each side!

To those of us who have only the occasional privilege of gazing at the small rim of a five-dollar gold piece—through a broker's window—this illustration is well-nigh incomprehensible. To the average workingman gold is as unfamiliar a coin as the haiku-shells of the British Columbia Indians, the cowries of India or the whales' teeth of the Fiji islands.

But it serves to show the enormously expansive power of gold, given to it by the system of profit and interest that we permit and perpetuate. And this same expansive process is going on every day. The capital of the rich is increasing, and as the result the poverty of the poor is increasing, too.

When mammon gains, man loses. When capital gets, labor gives. When the dividends of the rich increase the comforts of the poor decrease. Every private pile of wealth is simply the accumulation of legalized pilferings.

Why are some so poor? Why are others so rich? The same question answers both. By the system of industrial profit and loss, the profit always going to one class and the loss always being borne by the other.

An honest millionaire.

In a religious weekly received yesterday casual reference is made to a certain millionaire. After speaking of his being worth four and a half millions, it stated that it "seems he earned his money honestly."

This is really a significant statement. It implies that the popular idea concerning the dishonesty of millionairism is getting strong enough to be opposed and disputed. And again it implies a doubt, in a quarter where loyalty to wealth is supreme, in the asserted fact of honesty, the man in question only "seeming" to earn his money in an honest way.

The statement made is fallacious. No man can earn a million honestly. He may inherit it. He may steal it. He may find it. But earn it he cannot.

My dictionary defines "earn" as "to gain by labor." No one is foolish enough to suppose that a millionaire, according to this, can rightly use the word.

The word "earn" comes from the Dutch "ernen," to reap, while the original root was "ar," to plough. We today use too often the former definition and forget the latter. We forget that to earn means not only the harvesting, but the plowing as well.

Money has in reality, no expansive power. Plant a dollar, and you expect to dig up a dollar and no more. It has no inherent power to increase of itself.

It is only when labor power is introduced that wealth increases. Capital is but the golden key that unlocks the legal barriers and permits labor to use its energy in the increasing of wealth.

To labor, then, all wealth belongs. In that case, how can a capitalist honestly earn his millions?

One day last year Rockefeller made \$8,000,000 in one day by a manipulation of stocks. What fool says he earned it?

Labor's luck box.

A month or so ago a man named Henry Parker advertised a "lucky box" in the Boston papers. He made prodigious claims for his wonderful box, and bolstered his claim by citing case after case where great fortune had followed the purchase of a box.

These boxes were made, he said, in India, by Hindoo magicians, who gave them some mysterious power known only to that occult race. And this marvelous box was offered at the equally marvelous price of 99 cents.

Business boomed. Fools are plenty hereabouts, and most of them got a box. Orders poured in to Parker. Sacks full of mail and money orders were emptied in his office. His office was blockaded by the aspirants to fortune.

By and by the authorities, who are always so blind during a crime and so wide awake after it, put a stop to the thing. They found that the boxes were made by the gross in Lynn, and never got any nearer India than Breed's wharf.

Then the fools found out that it was a lucky box for only one person, and that person had cleared out with his ill-gotten wealth.

Fools? Not a bit more so than the great majority of American workmen. Year after year we have had offered to us, at the price of a vote, the "lucky box" of "prosperity." The competing agents, the "Republican Lucky Box company," and the Democratic ditto, have in turn offered us their wares,

with extravagant claims for their magical power.

And the most of us have been deceived. In buying the box we have been sold ourselves. We have given up our votes, year after year, and have gained nothing by it.

Already these two firms are getting out their lucky boxes and painting them over and looking for fine phrases to put on the covers. And already labor fools are getting ready to be taken in by the same old trick.

The real lucky box.

There is a lucky box, however, that has the power to bestow unlimited good fortune on labor. It has the magic power to change every labor slave into a prince of fortune. And that is the ballot box.

The ballot boxes of America are simply the hollow tricks which are used to construct either a palace or a prison for labor. By it we can either vote away our rights, or else secure them. We can make our paths pleasant, or we can make them rough and hellish.

So long as the ballot box is within our reach we can make no reasonable protest against conditions. When we have set a trap and stepped into it, we can blame only ourselves. When we flavor our soup with machine oil we cannot be pitted for having to eat it.

So far we have not availed ourselves of the marvelous merit of the ballot box. We have suffered it to be a dice thrown by competing oppressors. We have permitted its use as a thing for tyrants to juggle with.

Let us begin to use it as the instrument whereby we can mold our own destinies and make our own happiness. Let us make it the avenue through which to make our strong and effective protest against injustice.

Let us straightway begin to tear down the prison and build the palace.

Merlin.

SONG OF THE NEW CENTURY

By Edwin Markham

Swung in the Purpose of the Upper Sphere,
We sweep on to the Century ahead.
But something makes the heart of man forbode,
For Labor is the Sphinx beside the road,
And we must answer its dread Question—yes,
Or perish as the tribes of yesterday.

Thunder and earthquake crouch beyond the gate;
But fear not: man is greater than his fate.
And one will come with Answer—with a word
Wherein the feet of morning will be heard;
One who will feel the grief in every breast,
The heart-cry of humanity for rest.

So we await the Leader to appear,
Thinker and Doer and Seer,
The hero who will fill the Labor Throne,
And build the Comrade Kingdom, stone by stone.

That Kingdom that is greater than the Dream,
Breaking through ancient vision, gleam by gleam,
Something that Song alone can faintly feel,
And only Song's wild rapture can reveal.

Thrilled by the Cosmic Oneness he will rise,
Youth in his heart and morals in his eyes,
While glory fallen from the far-off goal
Will send mysterious splendor on his soul.
Him shall all toilers know to be their friend;
Him shall they follow faithful to the end.

Though every leaf were a tongue to cry, "Thou must,"
He would not say the unjust thing is just.
Not all the flender that cry in the eyes,
Shall shake his heart or hush his lyric lips.
His cry of justice, it will stir the stones
From Hell's black granite to the Seraph thrones.

Earth listens for the coming of his feet;
The hushed Fates lean expectant from their seat.
He will be calm and reverent and strong,
And carrying in his thought the fire of song
Will send a cry upon these weary men,
A cry to make the heart grow young again.

A cry to comrades scattered and afar;
Be constipated, stir by circling star;
Give to all mortal justice and forgive;
License must die that Liberty may live.
Let Love shine through the fabric of the state—
Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate.

Fear not: we cannot fall—
The Vision will prevail.
Truth is the oath of God, and sure and fast,
Through death and Hell holds onward to the last.

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THE WOMEN DELEGATES

There were in the convention as delegates Margaret Haile, Corinne Brown, Elizabeth H. Thomas and Mary Simons Johnson. We should be glad to give Herald readers the portrait of each of them, but that being impracticable at this time, we present that of the most active and widely known of their number, whose work for the cause of Social Democracy in Massachusetts has been second to no "man's" work, and who enjoys the confidence and esteem of comrades throughout the country. We refer, of course, to Margaret Haile.



MARGARET HAILE

Comrade Haile, as a member of the committee on constitution, did effective and valuable work for the party. Before returning East, she accepted an invitation to visit Milwaukee, where she met with a cordial reception from comrades who appreciate her great service for the cause in Massachusetts.

NEW BRANCHES

Davisville, Cal.

Chairman, J. W. McDonald; vice-chairman, Thomas Brown; secretary, Harry Lytte; treasurer, B. F. Noel; organizer, W. J. Montgomery.

Paonia, Colo.

Chairman, Rufus P. Laucks; vice-chairman, Charles H. Taylor; secretary, Ira D. McFadden; treasurer, Alonzo C. Williams; organizer, Bolen Reames.

Chicago, Ill.

Two new branches organized in Chicago have not selected permanent officers; names will be reported next week.

Dubuque, Iowa.

Chairman, William D. Wilbur; vice-chairman, A. B. Wymer; secretary, W. T. Beals; treasurer, A. H. Fluck; organizer, F. A. Lymburner.

Ardmore, I. T.

Chairman, A. D. Matthews; vice-chairman, J. M. Davis; secretary, Julius A. Martin; treasurer, E. F. Ensworth; organizer, Arthur C. Bell.

Bellevue, Ky.

Chairman, A. Wagenlander; secretary, Jules Ronsheim; treasurer, Jacob Biehle.

Whitman, Mass.

Chairman, L. W. Drake; secretary, James M. Sullivan; treasurer, Frank Smith.

Esrom, Mo.

Chairman, George F. Brous; vice-chairman, E. Surber; secretary, S. B. Stephens; treasurer, R. S. Howe; organizer, C. C. Coates.

Williamsport, Pa.

Chairman, G. B. Smith; vice-chairman, M. E. Kelley; secretary, John J. Lyons; treasurer, Jonas Parker; organizer, G. F. Dril.

Beaumont, Texas.

Chairman, M. D. Fagan; vice-chairman, L. N. Hodges; secretary, J. O. Hillie; treasurer, W. C. Burk; organizer, F. J. Miller.

Equality, Wash.

Chairman, William Hogan; vice-chairman, H. W. Halliday; secretary, Walter Griggs; treasurer, W. B. Boyd; organizer, C. M. Dunn.

Geneva, Wash.

Chairman, L. Thompson; vice-chairman, George Hewitt; secretary, Mrs. Belle C. Hatt; treasurer, R. Watkins; organizer, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson.

Lynden, Wash.

Chairman, E. Edson; vice-chairman, S. L. Palmer; secretary, Jerome S. Austin; treasurer, J. F. Stark; organizer, H. B. Blair.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Chairman, Frank Peters; vice-chairman, Louis Fernges; secretary, Frank Strehlow; treasurer, Dr. C. Barkmann; organizer, Adam Schaefer.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending June 30 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before April 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

CAREY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

Monday evening March 12, our town hall held the largest audience ever assembled in it to hear a political speaker. Comrade James F. Carey had hurried all the way from Erie, Pa., to fulfill a long-standing engagement. Comrade Manfred Tibbitts first addressed the people on local issues. He was followed by Comrade Carey, who spoke on Socialism in its larger aspect. It was the most interesting and enthusiastic meeting ever known here. It must be borne in mind that the branch here contains but few members, a strike in a shoe factory and labor depression generally having caused many of its most active members to leave town.

Town meeting came the day after the rally just spoken of. The democrats, who had not made a town ticket for years, nominated selectmen, just to help out the republicans, and claimed they would poll 200 straight votes for their ticket. But the result showed that most of them went over to the republicans to make a sure thing against the Social Democrats. Owing to a false report, over thirty Social Democrats in a shoe factory did not get out to vote. The result of the meeting was:

Regular democratic..... 46
Social Democratic..... 130
Regular republican..... 289

Our people had expected to poll 170 to 180 straight votes. But those who know think that to have 130—who, under the most adverse circumstances, will face both bosses of shops and political bosses and vote the Social Democratic ticket—is a big achievement for a branch that numbers no more than ours.

I am instructed to say that all Social Democrats here—and I can say the same for all in our state—most cordially endorse the action of the comrades in laboring for a peaceful union of the two great bodies of working Socialists in America. No greater boon can come to us at this time than this fraternal union.

D. Fisher, Secretary.
Exeter, N. H.

Socialists of Oregon

The S. D. P. A. will hold a conference in Portland, Ore., Thursday, April 10, 1900, for the purpose of state organization and the calling of a state convention to nominate state, congressional and national officials, and such other matters as may come before the meeting for discussion. By order Branch No. 1, Portland, O.

T. C. Wendland, Chairman.
F. Smith, Secretary.

J. D. Stevens, Organizer.
Box 204, Portland, Ore.

THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871

Address by E. Val. Putnam at St. Louis Commune Celebration

There is probably no event in all history that has been so shamefully misrepresented or that has been so little understood as that grand uprising of the proletariat known as "the Paris commune of 1871." To the average mind the word "commune" signifies lawlessness, rioting, pillaging and murder. It is safe to say that not more than one out of five hundred Americans today has any other notion of that important occurrence than that it was an uprising of ignorant and vicious men who slew all who came in their way and pillaged and burned every building within their reach. A parade through the streets of New York of all the murderers, highwaymen and other criminals contained in the jails and penitentiaries of America, armed with torches, clubs, knives, pistols and dynamite, would perhaps be a faint approach to the popular conception of the commune.

Time will not allow us to go much into details this evening. A scheming emperor, in order to divert the attention of the French workingmen from their own condition, sought and found an excuse for a war with Germany, in which war he was ingloriously defeated and compelled to sign a humiliating treaty. The people of Paris refused to submit to the treaty, abolished the monarchy, declared the establishment of a republic and set up what was known as "the government of national defense." This government proved itself to be a weak and vacillating body, and made no preparations for the defense of Paris, finally surrendering the city to the Germans.

The people were indignant, and the government, which was composed largely of men hating the working class, attempted to disarm the national guards, most of whom were workingmen. This led to open hostilities, and the workingmen, being victorious, compelled the leaders of the government to flee to Versailles, and on March 18, 1871, the commune was declared established, amid indescribable enthusiasm of the people.

It was a government by the working class, the despised toilers whose labor had produced all the comforts and luxuries of the world. This class of men, who had hitherto been considered incapable of doing anything but the bidding of their masters, had asserted itself and announced its intention of using the powers of government for the benefit of the masses.

The capitalistic government at Versailles was astounded. It sent its agents throughout the rural districts of France, denouncing the "incendiarism, murder

and robbery of the mob in Paris," and the press of the entire civilized world was filled with horrible stories of the "mob rule."

And what are the facts? I can do no better than quote the statements of an eye-witness, Mr. Frank M. Pixley, a prominent journalist of the Pacific coast. Says Mr. Pixley:

"I was present in the city of Paris during the entire period that the commune held sway. I saw that great city of central Europe held for five weeks by the artisans and laborers, who for the first time in seventeen years had had the opportunity to bear arms. There was the Bank of France, with its hoarded wealth of coin, the house of Rothschilds, the bank of Hopes of Amsterdam; there were the great magazines and store-houses filled with costly fabrics; shops with jewels of untold value; palaces with costliest gems of art; pictures and marbles of inestimable value. There was a vast population which had for months endured privation, hunger and distress. The gendarmerie had been driven out, and there was no other government than that of the commune.

"And yet during the five weeks—weeks of menace from without and suffering within—I saw and heard of no single act of pillage and murder. During five weeks I saw no act of vandalism, I saw no plunder. I saw organization and order."

Such is the testimony of an eye-witness, corroborated by many writers and admitted to be true by many enemies of the commune. Paris under a government of workingmen was more orderly in time of war than under an emperor in time of peace, with 12,000 police for his special protection. A member of the commune said: "We hear no longer of assassination, theft and personal assault; it seems, indeed, as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its conservative friends."

Now let us turn to subsequent events and see how the conduct of the self-styled "representatives of law and order" compares with that of the commune administration.

During the last week of May, 1871, the Versailles troops entered Paris, and though the workingmen, who were inexperienced in warfare, exhibited unparalleled bravery in defense of the city, the commune government was overthrown. Then followed the greatest exhibition of brutality that has ever been recorded. It is useless for me to attempt to convey any adequate idea of its horror, and I must content myself with repeating the report of Gen. Thiers, who commanded the troops opposing the commune. Here it is. Grasp its terrible meaning if you can:

"Number of insurgents arrested from May 28, 1871, to Jan. 1, 1872, 35,578; died, 967; acquitted, 3,147; condemned to prison, 10,131; handed over to the civil courts, 212; dismissed, 1,090; shot, 23,121."

May 28, please note, was the last day of the war. All these 23,000 proletarians were shot after the commune had been completely conquered.

Comrades, it is well that we study the history of the commune. It is well that we know how these thousands of martyrs died, inspired with a glimpse of the future. It is well that we know why they died. How they died is illustrated by these words of Vermorel at the burial of the commune's general, Dambrowski, three days before the end of the struggle: "I say unto you that this precious martyr's blood holds the seeds of the morning. I tell you that those who shall weep are the poor, the toilers, the slaves. I tell you that, weeping for us, they shall wake to finish what we have begun! What think ye they will find most precious—the gold of capital or the martyr's blood that stains it? Let us not weep, my brethren; we have now naught else to do but die."

Thus they died—40,000 of them—died like true martyrs, knowing that they were right, confident that you and I and others of the proletariat would not suffer their sacrifices to be in vain. Comrades, shall it be said that the cause for which they perished thirty years ago shall fail today for lack of martyrs? Circumstances do not demand of us that we die for the cause today; but are there not among us enough men who will sacrifice their time, their energies, their ambition, their all to insure its triumph—to complete the emancipation of labor? I believe that there are, and that within the lifetime of nearly all that are present the sun of the co-operative commonwealth will rise grandly, gloriously above the political horizon.

But we must not rest on prophecy or confine ourselves to expectations. In the history of the past are to be found the guiding stars for the future. We must know how the proletariat has lived and died in order to discover how it may triumph. In the history of the Paris commune we find many lessons. We learn from it that workingmen are capable of managing the affairs of government in a peaceful and orderly manner. We learn that when the proletariat is once aroused no death, however terrible, can deter it. We learn from this bloody page of history that capitalism, when opportunity is offered, will stop at nothing to perpetuate its reign. We discover in the wage-working class a feeling of humanity and fraternity, a sense of justice and a love of liberty. We per-

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. France, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlarf, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening at 8 p. m. at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 155 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockyville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwarter, Box 160.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2504 Wentworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nag's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 608 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 8 o'clock at Nag's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Gelske, Secretary, 736 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets at 1148 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. S. L. Westing, Secretary, 6243 Center ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Bittman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. S. B. Jamieson, chairman, James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollacut, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except the meeting in the month of August. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 8th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 560 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at the Hotel, 328 W. Camden st. Good speeches. Public invited. Lewis J. Jones, Secretary, 302 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hall, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. H. Schlechting, Organizer, 30 James St.

Branch No. 5, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Secretary, 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 62 Crescent St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Seegal, Secretary, 42 Essex St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Laster's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 39 Winter St. G. H. Evans, Treasurer, Prince Street.

Branch No. 31, Chelsea, permanent headquarters.

ceive in the capitalist class an utter lack of mercy, a spirit of brutality and an unlimited selfishness. Let us take warning. With the growth of its power the characteristics of the capitalist class have only been intensified. Let the proletarians of America but give unmistakable evidence of their intention to secure control of the powers of government, no matter how peacefully, and you will witness scenes of cruelty on the part of the minions of wealth beside which events of the past will pale into insignificance. In conclusion permit me to say that the Paris commune meant more to the proletarians of America than did the American revolution. The commune was a revolution of our class, and we owe more patriotism to our class—the wage-working class of the world—than we do to any institution or government founded on geographical lines. Let us remember its history. Let us mourn for its martyrs and profit by its lessons. Let us at all times refuse to make war upon our fellow-slaves of other countries. Let us pin our faith to international Socialism and never forget that "the workingmen of all countries are our friends and the despots of all countries our enemies."

Pacific Coast Socialists

Books on economic subjects can be ordered to your advantage from the Bureau of Socialist Literature, 25 Turk Street, San Francisco, Cal. Following is a partial list of the works of G. B. BENHAM, which we recommend: History of the Paris Commune of 1871, paper cover, 25 cents; full cloth, \$0.75. Gospel of Discontent (compilation)..... 15 Snap Shots at Capitalism (compilation)..... 15 Story of the Red Flag..... 15 Crimes of Capitalism..... 15

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MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1800 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1330 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wislitz's Hall, 85 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 183 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 2, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1059 Second Ave., at the "Central." Henry Lang, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 139 W. 96th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at 135 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butscher, Secretary, 251 Rutledge St.

Branch No. 20, New York, 28th Assembly District, meets first and third Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave. R. Hoppe, Secretary, 333 E. 80th St.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets every Sunday at southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. E. Biederman, Sec., 215 Vine St.

Branch No. 5, Dubuque, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in room 14, Davies block, Fourth and Main streets. Every one interested in practical government is invited to be present.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets first and third Saturdays in Workingmen's Hall, 1318 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1801 Printz St.

Branch No. 11, Cincinnati, Columbus. Ed Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansassass St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7 o'clock at the corner of 12th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 24 Addison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2313 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 423 S. Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 618 E. Water St. Eugene W. Rooney, Secretary. John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 53 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geestke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall, corner Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, 891 25th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meier's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerscheel, Secretary, 891 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. Fred Brauchman, Secretary, 23 W. Dodge Ave.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin Vorwaerts, 614 State St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at 121 21st and Center St., at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

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THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights. In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America. The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Adjourned.

Attitude Toward Trades Unions

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

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June 16 to Dec. 31, 1898..... \$ 416.97	Prioring..... \$ 922.08
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1899..... 1,059.75	Stock and wrappers..... 96.71
Jan. 1 to Feb. 28, 1900..... 157.28	Postage..... 47.17
	A. S. Edwards..... 182.00
	Prioring..... 2,350.07
Total prioring..... \$3,934.91	Postage, wrappers and addresslog..... 312.15
Total addressing, wrappers, postage and stock..... 524.44	A. S. Edwards..... 570.45
Salary Editor..... 1,059.70	Prioring..... 653.78
	Postage, wrappers and addresslog..... 60.41
	A. S. Edwards..... 307.25
	\$5,519.05

DISBURSEMENTS

	Herald	Literature	Office Expense	Salaries	Printing	Rent	Organizer's Fee	Loans and Interest	Labor	Total
June 16 to Dec. 31, 1898.....	\$1,246.96	\$ 41.63	\$120.83	\$ 63.25	\$ 64.50	\$ 2.50	\$ 8.00	\$1,547.67
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1899.....	3,241.67	240.14	331.86	750.00	126.50	150.00	16.00	10.00	56.50	5,060.67
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1900.....	1,030.42	45.72	121.25	188.00	56.75	25.00	2.25	43.65		1,576.04
				51.00						
	\$5,519.05	\$327.49	\$573.94	\$1,139.00	\$246.50	\$239.50	\$20.75	\$53.65	\$84.50	\$8,184.38
										Balance on hand March 1, 1900, 61.38
										\$8,245.74

RECAPITULATION

	Admission Fee	Quarterly Dues	Supplies	Soc. Dem. Herald	Contributions	Literature	Loans	Labor	Total
RECEIPTS									
June 16 to Dec. 31, 1898.....	\$ 102.00	\$ 478.50	\$ 1.10	\$ 416.97	\$ 339.40	\$ 60.75	\$225.00	\$13.20	\$1,636.92
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1899.....	740.50	2,156.25	75.56	1,059.75	666.89	276.82	50.00	47.05	5,072.82
Jan. 1 to Feb. 28, 1900.....	221.50	779.75	21.53	157.28	307.55	48.39			1,536.00
	\$1,064.00	\$3,414.50	\$98.19	\$1,634.00	\$1,313.84	\$385.96	\$275.00	\$60.25	\$8,245.74

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

ASSETS	LIABILITIES
Jan. 1, 1899—	
Office furniture..... \$ 12.00	Eugene Dietzgen..... \$ 225.00
Stationery..... 15.00	A. S. Edwards..... 223.00
Cash on hand..... 89.25	Theo. Debs..... 437.50
	H. Schwarz..... 103.50
	Campbell Printers..... 9.25
	Total Liabilities, \$ 932.00
Jan. 1, 1900—	
Office furniture..... \$100.00	Eugene Dietzgen..... \$ 225.00
Stationery..... 75.00	A. S. Edwards..... 245.30
Literature..... 50.00	Theo. Debs..... 587.50
Bills receivable..... 20.00	
Cash on hand..... 101.04	
	Total Liabilities, \$1,531.93
March 1, 1900—	
Furniture and typewriter..... \$100.00	Eugene Dietzgen..... \$ 225.00
Stationery..... 75.00	A. S. Edwards..... 245.30
Literature..... 50.00	Theo. Debs..... 587.50
Bills receivable..... 20.00	
Cash on hand..... 61.38	
	Total Liabilities, \$1,057.80

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS

Leonard B. Abbott in The Outlook

The most striking political phenomenon during recent months has been the unprecedented growth of socialism in the eastern section of Massachusetts. When, in December, 1898, John C. Chase, an avowed Socialist, was elected mayor of Haverhill as the candidate of the Social Democratic party, it was possible for men to say that he owed his victory to a political accident, for his opponents were divided, and he polled only 2,300 out of 7,000 votes. In December last, however, Republicans, Democrats, and Prohibitionists all joined hands to defeat him. They forgot their differences of opinion, and threw down the gauntlet on the basis of a straight contest between socialism and capitalism. As such the issue was frankly accepted by all concerned. No effort was spared to defeat the Socialists, and money flowed like water. The coalition candidate, a lawyer named Pingree, had not only the support of the one daily paper of the city, but also of all the machine politicians. On the other hand, the Social Democratic party, a new organization, with very slight financial resources or political experience, fought beneath the storm of prejudice that is always aroused by the word "Socialism." The money with which they conducted their campaign came from far and wide—hundreds of dollars from the Jewish Socialists of the East Side of New York, and contributions from sympathizers in almost every state of the Union. A little weekly paper, the "Haverhill Social Democrat," was started a few weeks before election as the organ of the Socialists. In spite of almost superhuman obstacles, the Social Democrats again elected their candidate, by a majority of 156, and with him three aldermen and three councilmen (out of a joint ballot of twenty-one), which gives the Socialists the same numerical strength in the city council that they had last year.

On the same night that Chase was re-elected there came news from the other side of Boston that Brockton also had elected a Socialist mayor, Charles H. Coulter, by a majority of over 1,500, together with two aldermen and a councilman, all of whom are on the Social

Democratic ticket. The following week Lynn and Newburyport each cast about 800 votes for a Socialist mayor, and at the last-named place the Social Democrats elected a member of both city council and school board. Haverhill and Rockland are represented in the state house at Boston by James F. Carey and the Rev. F. O. McCartney, the only two Socialists in any state legislature in this country. We thus see the extraordinary spectacle of socialism strongly entrenched today in Massachusetts, a Republican state, and one famous for its conservatism.

The Social Democratic party was formed at Chicago in June, 1898, being thus less than two years old. It grew out of a heterogeneous organization formed by Eugene V. Debs in 1897, and from the first day of its existence has stood uncompromisingly for clear-cut socialism. It declares its object to be "the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism." In principles and purpose the Social Democratic party is almost identical with the Socialist Labor party, and its formation was really a protest against conditions existing in that party. The Socialist Labor party, in the twenty years of its existence, has accomplished nothing that can be compared with the victories of the Social Democratic party in Massachusetts. Eugene V. Debs—the "Ferdinand Lassalle of American Socialism," as he has well been called—is national organizer of the Social Democratic party; and to his untiring efforts has been due no small measure of its success.

The Social Democratic movement in Massachusetts is a working-class movement, and its rank and file are recruited almost wholly from native-born Americans. Winfield P. Porter, twice the party's candidate for governor, often prefaces his addresses on socialism by saying: "My grandfather fought to throw off the yoke of English slavery; my father strove to break the chains from the limbs of the negro slaves; I today am fighting against the curse of wage-slavery." In view of such a declaration, it can hardly be said that "socialism is a

foreign importation"; and it is certainly very interesting to note that Massachusetts, the cradle of liberty in 1776, and the stumping-ground of the Abolitionists half a century later (Haverhill, by the way, being the birthplace of J. G. Whittier), is today the first to lead the way toward the "Co-operative Commonwealth" pictured by Socialists. Mayor Chase was born in New Hampshire, Representative Carey in Haverhill, and both of them worked in the shoe factories from earliest boyhood. Mayor Coulter is also an American, a journeyman plumber by trade. Representative McCartney, on the other hand, is a Unitarian minister. He left a prosperous church at Rockland to go into politics, and was previously assistant pastor of one of the wealthiest congregations in Boston. Haverhill, Brockton, Lynn, and Newburyport are all famous as centers of the shoemaking industry, and this fact has led the New York "Sun" to suggest that there must be some mysterious connection between shoes and socialism!

"There is something that all the money in the world is powerless to check," said one of the Haverhill Socialists, "and that is the onward march of a great moral principle." It is this very spirit in Massachusetts socialism which gives it its impregnable strength. The Social Democratic party is so fundamentally different from the other parties that the old-time politicians are totally at a loss as to its meaning. They cannot even begin to comprehend that the Socialists are working, not for political jobs and party triumph, but for principles and ideals. There is in the Social Democratic movement an almost religious enthusiasm. On the eve of victory in Haverhill, an Irish Socialist was on his death-bed. The good news was brought to him lying in pain, and his face brightened as with the light of sunshine. Almost his last words were, "And Brockton, too!" In one of the branch meetings of the party a new recruit to Socialist principles—a notorious drinker—stood on his feet to make confession of faith, and in his hand was the inevitable bottle. "Comrades," he said, "I am never going to disgrace our cause by taking another drop of that vile stuff!" He dashed the bottle to the ground, amidst applause.

Massachusetts cities have so little home rule that, even if Mayors Chase and Coulter had a majority in the city government, almost nothing could be accomplished in the direction of socialism. Both mayors realize that their chief function at present is that of agitators—apostles of a new idea. In their inaugural messages they declare triumphantly and unequivocally their belief in the fundamental principles of socialism, but state that the most that they, as individuals, can do is to move slowly forward in the direction of municipal ownership, and to use their influence wherever possible in the interests of the working class against the capitalists.

Probably Edward Bellamy's books, scattered so widely through these New England homes, have been largely responsible for the growth of the socialistic sentiment. Socialistic papers and pamphlets have been distributed here in thousands for many years, for the Socialist movement of today is clearly the logical development of an earlier and vaguer Populist movement. But more powerful than all other factors in the education of Massachusetts workmen has been the evolution of industry. The men of Haverhill and Brockton can remember the time when a shoemaker made a complete shoe upon his knee. Today the individual, working in concert with scores of others, and using complex machinery, makes a hundredth part of a shoe. A priori, one would suppose that such marvelous mechanical development would bring comfort and security to all. As a matter of fact, the Haverhill shoemakers are much worse off than their fathers. There is more poverty, more insecurity, and more unemployment. The invention of machinery and the concentration of industry have brought incalculable wealth to the capitalist class, but misery to the workers. It is to be wondered at that New England workmen now realize that the factory, already social in its nature, should also become social property, and be administered to promote the well-being of the whole community? Is it not natural that they should flock in ever-increasing numbers to the party which asserts its object to be the collective or public ownership of the means of production and distribution?

The Socialist victories at Haverhill and Brockton have aroused comment from Maine to California. The editors of our daily papers are still busy trying to explain away such a remarkable phenomenon, and both Republican and Democratic leaders in Massachusetts are discussing how many of the Socialist demands they can safely incorporate in their respective platforms. To those who are able to survey the matter from a wide standpoint, these victories simply appear as the local expression of a movement that is already world-wide, and that is surely destined sooner or later to become a great political factor in this nation.

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